1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

646 Disregarding such occasional foreigners in the political personnel, one may say that the municipal council is expressive rather than active. It maintains prestige, presides at public meetings, and receives the salutations of visitors. Actual work, as, for example, the 565 665 installation of a lamp in the *plaza*, the exploitation of marketable wild roots on the public lands, or the promotion of the secular celebrations, is done by the small group of townspeople who are richer, better educated, and more accustomed to city ways than others. These men are the shopkeepers and many of the artisans. They are *los correctos*—the "correct" people—as contrasted with *los tontos*[1]—the "ignorant" [291] people. The former wear shoes and dark trousers; the latter, sandals and white trousers. The personnel of the municipal government now tends to be drawn from *los tontos*, while *los correctos* constitute the influential citizens who occupy the other half of the platform at public meetings but who regard politics with something akin to disdain. Politics, therefore, is enjoyed by the same element in the population that organizes the religious *fiestas*, and, like these, constitutes a form of play.

[104] [1] It may be stated, perhaps unnecessarily, that these two terms (*tontos* and *correctos*) are used in the following pages not in their original Spanish meanings, but merely to designate two groups in Tepoztlán that are sometimes so designated by the people themselves, and that lack other convenient names.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

merchants of Tepoztlán and of the satellite villages there come regularly textile sellers from Mexico City and pottery vendors from Cuernavaca, as well as occasional wandering merchants from other and more distant towns.[1] The market day is also a news day.

The importance of Sunday probably varies directly in proportion to the degree to which the individual has taken on city ways. It is not an Indian institution, and in busy season at least *los tontos* do not observe it as a day of rest. But characteristically all classes put on their best clothes on Sunday. When the priest is there the more Catholic may attend mass in the *Templo Mayor*. Sometimes, the "new orchestra" may play in the little bandstand in the *plaza*. Such sophisticated refinements are promoted by the more city-wise minority—*los correctos*.

Like all the simpler peoples, whose food and whose occupations are directly dependent upon seasonal changes, the Tepoztecans are closely attentive to the

[1] There follows a list, not quite complete, of goods sold in the regular bi-weekly markets. Of course the limitation "in season" applies to many of the fruits: (1) Produced in Tepoztlán or the satellite villages: oranges; bananas; *chayotes; manzanillos* (*tejocotes*); limes; lemons (rare); avocados; plums; chirimoyas; mameys; sapotes (four or five kinds); tomatoes; husk tomatoes; sugar cane; *pitos;* acacia pods (*guajes*, N. *guaxi*); peanuts; tamarind beans; coffee; squash seeds; acacia seeds; beans (several kinds); maize; coriander; *manzanillo* jelly; clotted cream; honey; pine kindling; lime; eggs; medicinal herbs. (2) Produced outside the valley: potatoes, onions, and rarely other vegetables, from Cuernavaca; occasional vegetables, as beets, carrots, lettuce, rosemary, small squashes, from Xochimilco, Federal District; pottery from Cuernavaca, from Toluca, and from the state of Puebla; baskets from southern Morelos; leather thongs for sandals and fiber nets (*ayates*) from Cuautla; zarapes and mats, from Toluca and elsewhere; lima beans and such spices as *pimienta*, cloves, and cumin seed, from Mexico City; textiles and notions from Mexico City. Other supplies, and also some that are on these lists, are bought in the stores.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

other hand, is the most clearly secular *fiesta*. This is because it is organized around no symbol of group sentiment. There is practically no commemorative element. Once perhaps there was. The *Huehuenches*, the masked figures that leap for hours in the *plaza* and constitute the traditional conduct appropriate for the occasion, had a meaning,[1] but today they do not. It is done "for pleasure," and the behavior found pleasurable is of the simplest kind—merely an endless leaping up and down to a single strain of traditional music. It is suggestive of the tendency of holy days to become holidays that it is *los correctos* who manage the carnival, while the more primitive *tontos* have the largest share in the *fiestas* of the *santos*.

The *Altepe-ilhuitl*[2]—the "day of the pueblo"—is another *fiesta* in which, to the folk, the church is not concerned.[3] It is much like the carnival; there is the same eating and drinking and buying and selling in the *plaza*. But the ancient ritual still observed revives a symbol of the group and recalls, in a degenerate form, the ancient glory of the village. A man assuming the rôle of the semi-mythical leader of the Tepoztecos, defies the forces of the enemy *pueblos*,[4] and defends the ancient citadel against attack. This *fiesta* is, indeed, the most truly patriotic holiday of Tepoztlán,

[1] See p. 104.

[2] See the description in the next chapter, p. 116.

[3] Although the ancient pagan festival has been incorporated with a Catholic holy day.

[4] These are Cuernavaca, Yautepec, Tlayacapan, Huaxtepec, and Tlalmanalco. Is Tlalmanalco extinct? It does not appear on the map.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

primitive community that Tepoztlán once was, and the other of which represents the part of modern urbanized society that it is becoming.

An enumeration of Tepoztecan specialists is not an enumeration of an equal number of individuals; it scarcely need be pointed out that many individuals practice more than one specialty. Some special functions, as those of the musicians, are very occasional. It is noteworthy that in most cases it is a *correcto* who exercises more than one special function.

E. V. was born and brought up in Tepoztlán. His family were by tradition those who made masks for the carnival, and he continues to exercise this function. When a youth he learned the trade of a mason. Later he went to Mexico City. There he learned woodcarving and gilding; these occupations he occasionally practices now that he is back in Tepoztlán. In Mexico City he was for a time a street-car motorman. Now, returned to Tepoztlán, he has a minor position in the municipal government. Occasionally he functions as mason, woodcarver, or gilder, and during the proper season makes masks for the carnival. He also tills his ancestral *milpa*.

L. V. lives in the house where he was born. During the revolution he went to Mexico City and remained there seven years. While there he learned shoemaking. Either there or in Tepoztlán he also learned the mason's trade. Now, back in Tepoztlán, he has a cobbler's shop, occasionally works as a mason, and is also sometimes called upon as a musician. He tills his cornfield also.

The following inventory of specialists is probably not quite complete, either as to the number of occupations represented or as to the number of individuals practicing a given occupation.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

463
Two teachers, a young man and a young woman: Both are natives, of distinctly *correcto* families, and both were educated in the city. Both wear city clothes all the time and have no other specialty but teaching. [875] [565] [369]

The priest should be mentioned, although during the period of investigation there was no priest officiating in Tepoztlán, as there was not elsewhere in Mexico. He was a man of *correcto* family, well educated in the city. [793] [565]

Five storekeepers: These are men of some capital. They have small shops on the *plaza*. On the whole they devote their time to trade. Each makes frequent trips to Mexico City to buy goods. Most become tradespeople on a small scale or minor commercial employees in Mexico City during the revolution; it does not appear that any one of them inherited the business. Besides these five storekeepers there are two young men who flavor and charge water and bottle the result for local sale. These men have considerable communication with the city. [441] [439] [274]

Two corn-factors: These men buy the locally produced surplus maize, arrange for its shipment to Mexico City, and there sell it wholesale. [442] [439]

Three butchers: Their shops are on the *plaza*. The meat is butchered locally. [438] [253]

Two shoemakers: One, a cripple, learned his trade from an earlier shoemaker in Tepoztlán; the other learned it in Mexico City. [294]

Three carpenters: One man has a shop on the *plaza;* the others work in their homes. Tools are simple and few, all of European pattern. These men make furniture, doors, and candlesticks for the churches, also coffins and saddles. Information is lacking as to where each learned his trade. [335]

Four masons: These men lay brick floors, and build walls and water tanks, occasional columns and porticoes on the better [333] [342]

l:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

zations are formed which assume a public function. A band of musicians of San Andres are frequently called upon to play at funerals or weddings. During 1927 "the new orchestra" was organized at Tepoztlán. This was composed of young men, mostly *correctos*, who played "modern" pieces, on Sundays or holidays, to entertain the townspeople. The "old orchestra" is a musical organization of quite another sort. This is composed of four older men who know the traditional music used for the *posadas* and for certain of the religious dances. They play chiefly ritual music, not current compositions. Funeral music is of an intermediate type; the "old orchestra" plays at funerals too. The *chirimiteros* are not regarded as musicians; they will be referred to later.

With the musicians this list grades off into specialties that are so casual, so little differentiated, so easily taken on and put off, that it is difficult to name the specialists. Such are the *arrieros*, the men who own mules or horses and haul goods from the railway to the town, chiefly for the merchants; the charcoal-burners and woodcutters; the men who keep and milk cows and the women who sell the milk; and the women who sell *camotes*. Anyone may engage in these occupations occasionally; a few devote themselves to one or another.

There are likewise a considerable number of persons who stand ready to supply some special need, although the fulfilling of this function plays a very minor rôle in their lives. One woman keeps *metates*, bought in some city and held for resale; several keep a stock of herbs; one of the shoemakers keeps a few commercial drugs. A casual acquaintance of the town gives an impression of very little differentiation, but closer familiarity shows that in any need, even an un-

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

463 usual need, there is always someone who is expected [438] to step into a special rôle and exercise a special function for that crisis.

In general, the specialists of the sorts just listed are [565] *correctos*. But there are other specialists that seem to fall into another class, to represent a different type of specialization of function. The specialists of this second class are, in the main, *tontos*. These are:

[759] Thirteen [perhaps more] herb-doctors [S. *curanderas;* N. *tepahtiani*]: With one exception, a man up in Los Reyes, these are women. They have a command of the folk knowledge of medicine. They are called upon in sicknesses of any seriousness. A large part of their technique is the preparation and administering of herbal remedies.[1]

[759 844] Ten [perhaps more] midwives [S. *parteras;* N. *amantecatl*]: These are always women. There is no case in the materials of a midwife who is also an herb-doctor. The specialties are quite distinct.[2] They are called in to attend all births. Their technique has been described in the preceding chapters.

[533] Three *chirimiteros:* These men play the traditional strain of music on the roofs of chapels and in the yards of the *mayordomos* at *fiestas* celebrating *santos*. None of them are young men. The act is entirely ritualistic. There is no pay but food and drink. Most *chirimiteros* carve their own *chirimías* out of *zopilote* wood. This is also a special technique.

[794] Two [or three?] *huehuechihque:* These are men who know the traditional words used in summoning people to pay their contribution for the *santos*, and those used in thanking them when

[1] In asking if a woman sets herself up as an herb-doctor, the phrase is *Sabe hervir?* ("Does she know how to boil?")

[2] There is also some evidence that some *curanderas* specialize in certain diseases.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

the contribution is paid. Like the *chirimiteros*, the *huehuechihque* are called upon only for *fiestas* of *santos*.

Two fireworks-makers [*coheteros*]: These men prepare the *castillos* for the *fiestas* of the *santos*, and make rockets [*cohetes*] which are used for any celebration.

Three maskmakers:[2] These men are brothers. The duty of making masks has always been in their family. Before the carnival these three men devote most of their time to making the traditional masks.

Two magicians [*magicos*]:[3] The existence of these specialists was learned shortly before leaving Tepoztlán; nothing is known about them except the identity of the two individuals. "They say they know how to take a woman out of her house against her will."

These two classes of specialists appear to represent two different types of social organization, and the changing relations between them describe the social evolution of Tepoztlán. Occupations of the first class are invariably carried on in order to earn a livelihood. Those of the second class are to a less extent carried on for remuneration. The *chirimitero*, the *huehuechique*, the maskmaker, even the midwife and the herb-doctor, perform their functions because theirs are rôles which the group is accustomed to see them take. The specialists of the first class in many instances acquire their specialties adventitiously. In many cases the storekeeper, the mason, or the carpenter has

[2] These men happen to be *correctos*.

[3] The *magicos* are quite distinct from witches (*brujas*). The reputation of witches is acquired unwittingly and is not enjoyed. Theirs is not a profession.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

body of public knowledge, of positive practices, which are fixed, traditional, and, in general, magical. 755

The extent to which manifestations of the morbid are segregated and distinguished as diseases is nowhere very definitely fixed. The number of diseases known is determined simply by the number of names. Any cluster of symptoms may be isolated and given a name; a new disease is thereby created. So the extent to which diseases and treatments are discriminated in Tepoztlán probably varies greatly with the experience and special interests of the individual. It would seem advisable, therefore, to exhaust the medical knowledge of a number of individuals separately, in order to describe the range of medical knowledge in Tepoztlán. In the present preliminary investigation this was not done. The materials come largely from two informants, a *tonta* and a *correcto*. Both described essentially the same symptoms and the same treatments for the more conspicuous diseases. The educated man knew little about herbal remedies, but made more distinctions in medical terminology.[1] The less educated woman showed detailed familiarity with the manifestations and mode of treatment of the diseases designated below as "folk diseases" and a vast acquaintance with herbal medicine. 753 [565]

Of the diseases recognized and treated in Tepoztlán [757]

[1] Fever generally is known as *totonializtli*. Typhoid is *cocolotzintli*, malaria is *atonahuiztli*, pneumonia is *ahcolcocoliztli* ("sickness of the shoulders"). *Ihtecualiztli* is dysentery. *Tzintecopalicihuiztli* is diarrhea with tenesmus. *Yzhuetzi* is hemorrhage. *Necoxonilli* is probably hernia. *Tzompilahuiztli* is catarrh. *Tlatlaziztli* is an ordinary cough; *chichitlatlaziztli* is a hard, racking cough ("a dog's cough"). [192]

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

755 spring day he was on his way to San Andres to collect money due him for cattle sold on credit. Becoming tired, he rested beside
754 the crosses at Cuicuitzcatla. He fell asleep, and while sleeping was soaked in a rainstorm. Next day he fell ill, and dreamed that little people were attacking him. He knew that in the rainstorm *los aires*, offended, had attacked him. So he went to a *curandera* in Tepoztlán. She washed him with herbs and directed that he get a live chicken and have *tamales* made to give to *los aires*. She told him that the dolls made in Tepoztlán were not good enough for *los aires* in a case as serious as this, and that he should get a doll from the stores in Mexico City. This he did. But at the last minute the *curandera* stole the doll from the tray which she was taking to Cuicuitzcatla, and *los aires* did not receive it. Someone saw the *curandera* take the doll, and told the patient.
[757] He did not get better. He went then to a doctor in Mexico City, who treated him for several weeks, without improvement. In increasing distress R. C. heard of a spiritualist who had come to Yautepec and was curing people through the medium of the spirits. R. C. went to him, but again no cure was effected. He was then urged to try a *curandera* at Santiago who specialized in curing *los aires*. She told him that *los aires* had been enraged by the loss of the doll, and that he must do it all over again. The washing with herbs was repeated, and a new and larger doll obtained. Finally the *curandera* arranged "the last cure" [*la ultima cura*]. R. C. walked to Cuicuitzcatla. On one side of him walked a musician playing a flute to conciliate *los aires*, and on the other side a man with a whip who beat R. C. at intervals to show *los aires* his penitence.

757 The abandonment of the older, more magical, more ritualistic treatment probably takes place first in the case of the minor disorders. Some traditional remedial acts tend to pass under scrutiny and to be justified because of the rationally comprehended means they employ to achieve the desired result. There is, for ex-
[515] ample, a notable difference in the way the sweathouse
[565]

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

(*temazcal*) is regarded by a young *correcto* on the one hand and an old *tonto* on the other. The former no longer practices all the ritualistic uses of the *temazcal*. There is a growing tendency to use the sweathouse simply in order to get clean, to become refreshed. The *temazcal* is very slowly becoming secularized.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

The sessions of both are somewhat irregular, but the former gives instruction to a score or more of girls, the latter to several score of children of both sexes. There is also a small federal school in Santiago and another in San Andres. Not a great deal is taught besides reading, writing, and simple arithmetic, and a little Mexican history. Quite a number of *los correctos* have had superior schooling in Cuernavaca or Mexico City.

The mere statistical statement of the extent of literacy, however, is inadequate to describe the advancement of this people. The degree of intellectual development is better told in terms of how much and of what is read rather than by counting those who can read. A truer picture would appear from a study of the uses to which the knowledge of reading and writing is put. Such a study has not been made. This preliminary consideration suggests that even including the minority of the city-wise, the people of Tepoztlán make very little use of the stored experiences of other groups. The best-educated man in Tepoztlán has read much when living in the city, but in Tepoztlán he owns hardly more than half-a-dozen volumes. It is, one would venture, a very unusual occurrence if a single individual in Tepoztlán, except a schoolboy studying his lesson, reads from any sort of book.[1] Magazines rarely appear in Tepoztlán, and in this community of four thousand people no newspaper

[1] The writer himself introduced to Tepoztlán the only technical volume—a handbook of the mason's craft—which he saw in Tepoztlán.

l:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

CHAPTER XII

THE FOLK IN A CITY WORLD

In Mexico, as in European countries with more or less illiterate peasant populations, the sharpest cultural differences are not between one region and another but between the city people and the country people. This difference is, of course, even greater in those Latin-American countries where the city people derive their traditions from, and continue to communicate with, the European world, while the country people are largely Indian in tradition and do not easily communicate with the city. It is a circumstance of importance that the same classes, based upon the degree of familiarity with city ways, exist, on a much smaller scale, in Tepoztlán. They have already been several times referred to in these pages as *los correctos* and *los tontos*. The periodic revolutions afford, it would seem, a mechanism whereby this difference between the classes is from time to time re-emphasized and the tendency for them to merge is checked.

It is probable that these classes have existed for centuries in Tepoztlán. Tradition says that Martin Cortés, son of the conqueror, lived for a time in Tepoztlán and used the chapel of La Santísima as his private oratory. Certain heavy stone walls and ruined arches across the street from this chapel are pointed out as the vestiges of his residence. When he and his

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

dependents came there, they must at once have constituted an aristocracy of Spanish culture. This must have been but one of a series of periods of development and partial sophistication that were successively interrupted by periods of disorder. There are other fragments of heavy wall at the north side of the town; all memories of their meaning have apparently disappeared. The latest of these eras of order and urbanization was coincident with the Díaz régime. In the middle of the nineteenth century a family of educated people moved to Tepoztlán from another state. This family contributed the priest, a teacher, and several other members of the Tepoztecan intelligentsia. During this period the first secular school was opened. Several attempts were made to publish local newspapers.[1] In 1895 Francisco Rodriguez, a Tepoztecan who was educated as an engineer, called the attention of the scientific world to the large pre-Columbian temple situated above the town, and reported upon it to the International Congress of Americanists.[2] The work of excavation was done largely by Tepoztecan volunteers. A museum was established in

[1] "More than a half a century ago, nevertheless, literary productions were published in Tepoztlán; nevertheless, the press has hardly been introduced to the population. We remember, for example, 'El Xocoyotzin' of Don José Guadalupe Rojas,—a man never well understood,—a small periodical which was devoted to adult and infant education. A little later, with the introduction of a press in 1882, appeared in the public light 'El Liliputiense,' 'El Mosquito,' 'El Grano de Arena' and still others which were devoted to the development of culture and the illumination of the people" (*El Tepoztéco*, a newspaper published by Tepoztecos in Mexico City in 1921, issue of October 1).

[2] F. Rodriguez, art., "Descripción de la pyramide llamada Casa del Tepozteco. . . ."

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

City exile brought the *émigrés* into competition with the people of the city, and so further sophisticated them. So it was that when after a period of years the inhabitants returned to rebuild their homes the difference between *tontos* and *correctos* had in the meantime been made more distinct.

These periods of exodus to the city render acute the growing self-consciousness of *los correctos*. *Los tontos* live, in spite of revolutions, in the same single mental world of the folk culture. *Los correctos*, on the other hand, develop an intelligentsia who live in two worlds, in two cultures, the city and the folk, and are correspondingly restless and often unhappy. The periods of revolution[1] sharpen the self-consciousness of this intelligentsia; drawn together as temporary expatriates, they idealize their home community and at the same time deprecate its shortcomings. This dissatisfaction and unrest finds an expression in programs of reform.

In April, 1920, the expatriated Tepoztecos in Mex-

brought them to the cemetery at Tepoztlán. We came down by night. It took about four hours. We took turns carrying the body. We had to bury without coffins, just *petates*. We made three such trips, each time getting back to the hills before dawn.

"Afterward, when people came back to Tepoztlán, all the animals had been killed and there was no corn left. Many died of hunger and the sickness came. Eight or nine died each day. P. R. lived in the house just across from us in San Sebastian. He was killed in the revolution. He left his wife and seven little children. They all died one after another. They wanted just a *tortilla*, but there wasn't enough.

[1] A minor period of decline occurred in 1928. Residents of Tepoztlán who belonged to the radical agrarian party started a local rebellion in which Tepoztecans were killed. Rebel activity was general in Morelos, and some Tepoztecan *correctos* went to the city.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

185 ico City formally organized themselves into a "Colonia
668 Tepozteco." The prospectus of this organization an-
369 nounced the chief program of the group: to supplant
565 the then-existing military government of Tepoztlán with one elected by the people. The aims of the society were further specified as follows:

I. To establish among the Tepoztecos a center of intercourse which may contribute to the moral progress of its members.

II. To work for the reconstruction and the improvement, moral and material, of the *Municipalidad* of Tepoztlán.

III. To devote special attention to the spread of public education to the end that illiteracy no longer exists in Tepoztlán, employing for this result, without prejudice to the perfection of the Castilian language, the Nahuatl or Mexican idiom, an efficacious means of bringing the masses of the people to understand the transcendence of civilization, and, furthermore, to bring it about that our native tongue be preserved for transmission to the future generations.

IV. To develop a broad civic propaganda so that all Tepoztecan citizens recognize their rights and duties; and

V. To take a direct interest, moral and practical, in the designation of the local authorities of the *pueblo*, so as to realize the aspirations of the Colony.

In September of the same year a *fiesta* was celebrated in a hired hall in Mexico. A daughter of a leading *correcto*, expatriate in the capital, recited a poem about Tepoztlán written by her father. In this the beauties of the valley are hymned, the tragedy of ruin described, and the hopes of the future announced.

[539]

Mas tengo fe: las ruinas	Yet I have faith: the ruins
Subirán a los espacios,	Will rise to the empyrean,
Sus bases serán topacios,	Their foundations will be topazes,
Sus murallas diamantinas.	Their walls diamonds.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

211 369
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[539]

Con fuerzas casi divinas,	With strength almost divine,
Tepoztlán en su ardimiento,	Tepoztlán, courageous,
Sus ideales, su aliento	Its ideals, its vigor,
Desplegará con nobleza;	Will unfold nobly;
Si es titánica la empresa,	If the enterprise is titanic,
Es titan su pensamiento.	The thought is a Titan.

In October, 1921, this same group of intellectuals issued a tiny newspaper, *El Tepozteco*, with the motto: [204] "*Nochi ipampa totlacatiliztlal*" ("All for our native land"). This short-lived periodical[1] contained no news, but only editorial sermons on sobriety, patriotism, and especially on reform in Tepoztlán. The editor addressed his compatriots under the *nom de plume* Cihtli-Tepoztecatl ("Paternal Ancestor the Tepoztecan"), writing in the rôle of the eponymous legendary chief returned to advise his people:

> I come to be with you, to arouse you to the titanic emprise of the reconstruction of our *pueblo;* I come to applaud the strength you may exert so that my Tepoztlán may once again be what it was in the decade past; I come to anathematize those evil compatriots of mine, who, with their apathy or selfish ideas of conflict, obstruct the labor of the good citizens; and I come, finally, to be as I have always been, the mythological personage of our history and of our race . . . . [*El Tepozteco*].

This developing group consciousness is a product of conflict; it is apparently most acute in those individuals who, coming to live in the world of the city, look back upon the world of the folk. The impulse for reform, just described, has much in common with the nationalistic movements of folk minorities of Europe. The phenomenon in Tepoztlán, in the development of

[1] The writer does not know that more than the one issue appeared.

l:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

a native intelligentsia, in the local press, in political ambition, and especially in the linguistic revival, repeats a process that has occurred in many another place where the folk have felt the impact of the city. The pride in the native tongue to a certain extent is shared even by the *tontos*. Among the *correctos* it is more definitely expressed in attempts to keep alive and indeed to "purify" (i.e., to eliminate Spanish loanwords and forms) the beloved tongue. Several attempts have been made in Tepoztlán to organize schools, or discussion groups, for the study and development of Nahuatl. An early leader in this movement is Mariano J. Rojas, native Tepoztecan, now professor of Nahuatl in Mexico City.[1] But several other *correctos* who remain in Tepoztlán assiduously cultivate the language and have attempted to maintain a sort of academy of native speech. The romantic idealization of the language and how it symbolizes local patriotism appear from the following paragraph, published in *El Tepozteco:*

> The sweet and sonorous idiom of our aborigines, of Nezahualcoyotl and Ixtlilxochitl, the idiom of our fathers, which was left us as a sacred heritage, shall not die in spite of those who, although physically they reveal an origin entirely Indian, are ashamed of their race; our language shall live, because there are great and patriotic citizens who do not look down upon their race, who glory in being Indian, who love the members of their race, who greatly esteem their native tongue, and who work, toil and exert themselves for its reconstruction and perfection so that it shall never die.

[1] Author of *Manual de la lengua Nahuatl.*

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

This use of the language as a symbol of the Indian heritage has helped to give the movement a racial rather than a nationalistic character.

After the revolution of 1910–23 few of *los correctos* returned to Tepoztlán, Most of those who did go back went back to employ the practical and commercial experience they had acquired in the city in order to earn a living in Tepoztlán. They are the artisans and merchants there today. Of the six men who were most instrumental in organizing the colony of Tepoztecan *émigrés*—the group of intelligentsia—only one returned. Except two teachers, he was the only real intellectual living in Tepoztlán at the time of these observations. The substance of his life-history gives in a specific case the experience passed through by that type of individual who springs from the folk, is no longer entirely at home in it and yet can never quite leave it, and who suffers the conflict and disorganization of his position, with one foot in one world and the other foot in another.[1]

R. G. was born in Tepoztlán about forty-six years ago. He is apparently a pure-blooded Indian. His father was poor, but, like the other Tepoztecans, had his *milpa*. He was a man of some education, and, after the federal government had taken charge of the pre-Columbian ruins above the town, he was made "keeper of the monuments" at three *pesos* a day. The son, R., lived in Tepoztlán until he was nineteen years old. Up to that time his only schooling was that of the little local public school. In his own words, he "lived like an animal," running about and having a good time with the other boys but with no ideas or aims direct-

[1] Dr. Robert E. Park has called this type the "marginal man" (art., "Migration and the Marginal Man").

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

ed toward any other interests than those offered by the ordinary life of the town. At the age of nineteen he was sent by his father to school in Cuernavaca. A great many of *los correctos* have studied in Cuernavaca. Because of the tourists and its position on the railroad and the fact that it is the seat of the state government, Cuernavaca is far more sophisticated than Tepoztlán. R. G. studied in the secondary school there. Evidently his interest in study was aroused, for he then went on to a normal school in Mexico City.

In Mexico City one of the ruling passions of his life—his interest in the Nahuatl language—had its origin through a friendship he picked up with a North American priest and amateur archaeologist. To R. G., Nahuatl had been with Spanish equally the language of intimate home life. But through the archaeologist he received a Nahuatl grammar and from him he first made acquaintance with the literature describing the past glories of his Aztec forbears. The Nahuatl language became for him a symbol of gradually developing race consciousness. He entered into discussions with the archaeologist on the ancient forms of the language and studied it with the idea of bringing back to use the sacred pure original forms.

He had made only brief stays in Tepoztlán when the revolution broke out, and was of course in Mexico City all during that period. He took an active share in organizing the "Colonia Tepozteco," and entered enthusiastically into the plans for the restoration and reform of Tepoztlán. All during this time he was employed at various clerical occupations. During the early years of the revolution he met and married a *mestiza* woman, part Tarascan Indian, part Spanish. Although he is apparently proud of his pure Indian blood, he married a woman lighter skinned and closer to the Spanish tradition than himself. At about the same time he became acquainted with the authorities in charge of anthropological work for the government, and was employed in a minor capacity in connection with the work of that department. When he was asked to take part in an ancient Aztec pageant which the department had arranged as a part of the deliberate revival of the ancient cultural traditions of the folk, R. G. refused indignantly to make himself ridiculous by dressing up in

l:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

feathers. He offered instead to write and deliver an oration in Nahuatl pointing out the beauties of the Nahuatl language.

By the time the revolution was over R. G. had four children. Their situation in Mexico City was fairly comfortable. But he was only one of a mass of low-paid white-collar employees with little opportunity to gain recognition now that the Tepoztecan colony was broken up, and he had felt more intensely than most the desires to, as he put it, "lift up my homeland out of the sink into which it has fallen." Just then his father, who was living in Tepoztlán as "keeper of the monuments," died, and R. G. asked for and secured the post for himself. He returned to Tepoztlán, to the job, the house, and the *milpa* of his father. In spite of the misgivings of his wife, who is a city person and had moreover her own family in Mexico City, he transported himself and family, a few pieces of furniture, and the Nahuatl grammar to the mud-floored, windowless *adobe* house that had been his birthplace. He launched at once into his efforts at civic reform, promoting new roads, new street lights, and a school for the instruction of Nahuatl. He met with the apathy and often open amusement of his townspeople. The practical reforms ended with the installation of a few gasoline lamps. The school failed because, he says, "it was opposed by the priest." In Mexico City R. G. had become an atheist and anticlerical. He was equally out of sympathy with the small radical political group, who are *tontos*.

By the end of his fifth year in Tepoztlán he was thoroughly uncomfortable in both body and soul. His wife, suffering from the hardships of the primitive mode of life, was an invalid, dragging herself out of bed in order to do the necessary work about the house. She was extremely isolated, for she had not been able to adjust or interest herself in the life of the town. Her only desire was to get back to Mexico City. Her husband, a more sanguine person, was at times hopeful and passionately enthusiastic, at times profoundly disillusioned. To himself he is a figure in Tepoztlán, but one who goes unrecognized; and toward *los tontos* he maintains an attitude which some of them feel to be patronizing and critical, while he moves among them making elaborate jokes in Nahuatl. He is a lively, agreeable person but sensitive and proud. He is disillusioned, yet he continues to hope for the

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

159 369 565

Tepoztecan millennium. At bottom his attitudes are those of other Tepoztecans, but all is overlaid and colored by self-consciousness, and by a consciousness of the world outside not shared by his neighbors. During the sickness of one of his children he put equal weight on folk and city medicine. He laughs at *los aires*, but like his neighbors he thinks it unsafe to sleep out of doors; for him, however, it is because "germs drop from trees."

In 1926 the death of two of his children and a minor revolutionary disturbance in Morelos provided the occasion for his departure for Mexico City. In so doing he abandoned his dreams and forsook his status. But a partial transfer of desires has taken place; he talks now of learning English and coming to the United States. There one can make money, and there scientists are interested in his language.

R. G. can be understood partly in terms of his particular temperament, but partly in the light of that development of racial and national consciousness that has so marked the last two decades in Mexico. As he sees Tepoztlán partly through the eyes of a man of the wider city-world, so are the folk of Mexico coming to see themselves. His dreams and despairs, his crudities and his sensitiveness, are those of his country.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

177 Only from the point of view of history or of romantic appreciation is Tepoztlán an "Aztec *pueblo*." The elaborate ritual and philosophic scheme which distinguished the pre-Columbian culture was carried by the priestly class; and these meanings were practically extirpated by the conquerors. The society was, one might say, decapitated. The ancient household techniques remain, but the ancient values are gone.

[121] But if the interest is not in depiction, but in studying social change as it takes place—in social anthropology as contrasted with ethnology, in the terminology of Radcliffe-Brown[1]—then Tepoztlán presents an excellent opportunity. This opportunity is for the study of the change whereby a folk community is slowly becoming more like the city. This change is a case of diffusion, occurring in an easily observed situation, so slowly as not to accomplish the disorganization of the community, and under practical circumstances which liberate the student from responsibility to record the fragmentary vestiges of a disappearing culture.

177 369 [565] The frontier of this change is between *los correctos* and *los tontos*. This frontier is a geographical, not merely a figurative, frontier. The diffusion of city traits can be observed and expressed in spatial terms. The point from which changes originate is the central *plaza*. This is at first confusing to one accustomed to examples of the diffusion process taken from tribal

[1] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, art., "The Methods of Ethnology and Social Anthropology."

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

societies. There the changes that originate in the center of an area are those modifications locally developed in accordance with the characteristic type of the area, while the changes that take place because of contact with another culture take place on the periphery. But here, with a paradox that is only apparent, the periphery of change is at the center. This is because the contact with the city takes place here. Here visitors come. Here are trade, machinery, and print, so far as these come at all to Tepoztlán. And here, by a sort of selection, are drawn the tradespeople whose rôles have been determined by urban competition and who are familiar with city ways. These people—the tradespeople and other *correctos*—on the one hand, communicate by direct face-to-face relations with *los tontos* on the periphery, and, on the other hand, through their memories of the city, and by means of letters, newspapers, and visits to the capital, communicate with the city. It is as though there were, in this central zone where live *los correctos*,[1] two overlapping culture "areas": a culture of the folk, with communication by direct contact, and a culture of the city, which impinges on the other culture in another dimension, by means of communication which transcends space.

The ways of the city diffuse outward from the central *plaza*. They are not carried outward by migration, because the interests and activities of *los correc-*

[1] Of course there is no definite zone, but merely a tendency for *los correctos* to dwell, and for city traits to occur, near the *plaza* rather than near the outskirts.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

most religious and conservative and, according to our study of wealth distribution, it is also the poorest. This does not justify Redfield's statement that the barrios have "obviously different cultures," or that "the members of a barrio tend to think and act alike." Indeed, the absence of distinct barrio traditions was striking. No one could be found who knew the history of his barrio. No one knew when the barrio chapel had been built or when the milpa of the chapel had been obtained.

During the Díaz regime, the distinction between the larger and smaller barrios in terms of those of the center and those of the periphery corresponded in some degree to class distinction, since most of the well-to-do *caciques* and merchants lived in the center. Strictly speaking, however, even this distinction was not accurate, since all the larger barrios had their share of the poor and illiterate; and, as we have already seen, parts of the larger barrios are almost as far from the plaza as the most distant smaller ones.

The general tendency since the Revolution, especially during the past twenty years, has been the diminishing of barrio differences. Today an approximately equal distribution of well-to-do and acculturated families are to be found in all the barrios. In fact, Los Reyes, one of the smaller barrios, showed the highest proportion of landholding families. The various barrios now participate much more equally in village life. The distribution of services is no longer limited to the center. By 1943 there were about ten small stores and a few barber shops scattered among the barrios. Similarly, in contrast to Redfield's finding in 1926 that no letters went to the outlying barrios, San Pedro and Los Reyes now receive their share of the mail. It is also doubtful whether there are at present any significant differences in literacy on a barrio basis. Today the contacts between the outlying barrios and the outside is much less mediated through the center. We discovered just as large a percentage of young people from the smaller barrio as from the larger who have gone to study outside of the village. And certainly Redfield's characterization—the smaller as barrios of *tontos*, the larger as barrios of *correctos*—does not apply now.[24]

POPULATION

Tepoztlán had a population of 3,230 according to the Mexican Federal Census of 1940. In 1942 a local census of the village taken by schoolteachers and officials showed a population of 3,517, and by 1947 the population was well over four thousand. It is apparent that the Tepoztecan population, like that of Mexico as a whole, is increasing rapidly.

SIZE AND GROWTH

While we have no exact data on the size of the Tepoztecan population at the time of the Conquest, there is evidence which suggests that it was considerably larger than the present-day population and in fact larger than at any time since the Conquest. The earliest materials from which a reliable population estimate can

[24] For a critical discussion of Redfield's distinction between *tontos* and *correctos*, see Chapter 21, "Summary and Conclusions," p. 430.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

3 *status distinctions and family organization:*

175 In the pre-Hispanic period Tepoztlán was a highly stratified society, with a few
565 *principales* (ruling families) on the top of the social pyramid and the mass of *macehuales* (commoners) at the bottom. The *Relación* tells us something about class relations and gives us a picture that agrees quite closely with our knowledge of the structure of Aztec society at the time of the Conquest.[1]

[631] [642] The [Tepoztecans] recognized only two *principales;* one called *chichemeca hueytzin tecutli* and the other *cocomeiecutli,* until they became a *señorío* of Moctezuma, a fact recognized by their tribute of paper; and to the two *principales* they paid no regular tribute, except what they asked. They worked their lands, built houses and made clothing and gave them fowl and all that they needed.

When the lords who governed them went into the street [carried in litters] no one, man, woman, or child, was to appear on the street, except for the *principales* who accompanied them, and if perchance someone passed by, he was ordered punished; and in case this was not feasible, the said Indian threw himself to the ground, and asked pardon . . . and to have any dealings [with the lords] they did not approach them directly, but went to one of their *principales* who had the position of judges, one of whom was called *Tlacuhcalcatzintle* and the other *Tecpancatzintle* and the other *Cuacoatzintle.* . . .

175 After the Spanish Conquest the social structure was modified considerably, but
565 the old hierarchal arrangements persisted—except that the political and religious
631 power was transferred to the new ruling group represented by the Spaniards. In
642 Tepoztlán many of the old *principales* were maintained in power by the conquerors and were incorporated into the new administrative apparatus. Judging from early colonial documents, the local bureaucracy during the second half of the sixteenth century was very large, certainly much larger than the present bureaucracy, and in all probability larger than the pre-Hispanic one. In 1579 we find almost one hundred individuals on the official payroll of the municipio, as compared to less than twenty today.

The independence of Mexico from Spain in the early part of the nineteenth cen-

[1] *Relación,* pp. 241, 242.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

tury seemed to have little effect on Tepoztecan internal structure. The political life of the village continued in the hands of families who represented a mixture of the old *principales* and the new Spanish elite.

During the Díaz regime the domination of the village by the upper *cacique* group reached its peak, and class distinctions were marked. The *caciques* owned most of the privately held land, controlled the communal lands of the municipio and the local government, and formed an elite group who had social contacts with the elite of Cuernavaca and even of Mexico City. They were set apart from the rest of the village population by their large and more elaborate homes located in the center of the village, their urban styled clothing, their literacy and superior education. Vicente Ortega, the *cacique* in power almost until the outbreak of the Revolution, was a *compadre* of the governor of the state of Morelos, and served as a representative to the state legislature; and other leading Tepoztecans achieved high positions in the state administrative hierarchy.

The Revolution transformed the social structure of the village. The upper or *cacique* families fled the village for their lives and lost most of their wealth, particularly their cattle and artisan shops. The poor who remained also had to leave the village repeatedly, and sought refuge in the surrounding *cerros* when government troops were approaching. Once peace was restored, the families slowly began to return to the village. Some of the *caciques* or their sons also returned to take up residence in their battered or burned homes. It was necessary for all, rich and poor, to begin life anew and build back to normalcy. But they were building within a new social framework. The participation of the villagers in the ranks of the Zapatista forces, the revolutionary slogans of "land and liberty" and "down with the *caciques*" had left its imprint on the psychology of the people and acted as a distinct levelling influence. The political dominance of the *caciques* was gone. And a fundamental economic change had occurred, for the communal lands of the municipio, which constituted about eighty per cent of all the lands, were again available to the villagers. By 1930 the village had also recovered its *ejido* from one of the nearby haciendas, further broadening the land base in the village.

FACTORS IN STATUS

Today, class distinctions in Tepoztlán are much less marked; the former economic and social bases for class distinctions are gone.[2] But there are numerous status distinctions in the village, and the possibility of some future development of sharper stratification on the basis of wealth can be seen. It might be more accurate to describe present-day Tepoztlán as an incipient class society.[3] Sex, age, and kinship

[1] Memory of former class distinctions remains and exerts some influence. The expression, "He is the son of a *cacique* family," was used repeatedly by our informants.

[2] The term "class" is used here in the traditional sense to distinguish between broad social groupings differentiated from other groupings by their relationship to the process of production, by occupational distinctions, income levels, and a sense of social distance that makes for cohesive social groups over a period of time. In this definition I follow MacIver who writes, "It is the sense of status, sustained by economic, political, or ecclesiastical power and by the distinc

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

554 565 are the basic factors in social differentiation, while differences in wealth, education, and living standards distinguish individuals but not cohesive social groups.

SEX AND AGE

562 Sex and age differences are the basic factors in the ascription of status and in the structuring of inter-personal relations. Male superiority is accepted as part of the [593] order of things. Women are expected to show deference and respect to men; wives to husbands, sisters to brothers. Sexual differentials are marked in the rearing of children, in the division of labor, and in the privileges and responsibilities of individuals at each stage of the life cycle. Men assume all important leadership roles, economic, political, social, and religious. The double standard in sexual relations is practiced by men, and is generally accepted by women. However, women have comparatively high status; they may own and inherit property, participate in religious life, and as mothers enjoy an important role within the home.

561 192 [195] The principle of respect for age is second only to that of male superiority. Young people must address older people by the respectful *Vd.*, and in turn are addressed by the more familiar *tú*. The basic age divisions or statuses recognized in the village are five: (1) *criatura* (infant), until about age two or weaning time; (2) *niño* (child), from two to about twelve; (3) *jóvenes, muchacho, muchacha,* or señorita, from about twelve until marriage; (4) *adulto* or *hombre* (man) and *mujer* (woman), from marriage in the case of a man, and after having one or two children in the case of a young married girl; (5) *anciano* or *viejo* (the aged).

858 The infant status is by far the most privileged. Infants get a great deal of attention and care. Notwithstanding the widespread preference for boys, there are practically no sexual differentials in the treatment accorded infants.

[856] [867] [868] The child status is an extended one, and the development of the child is viewed as a slow process which must not be unduly hurried. In the early years the child is expected to learn the all-important virtues of obedience and respect for parents, older siblings, and other adults. Responsibilities and work are assumed earlier by girls than by boys, but in both cases it is generally gradual. Nevertheless, the period of childhood is a relatively difficult one. It is a time when punishments are given, when play must be gradually restricted and finally eliminated. It is also the period of greatest demands and least rewards.

882 The period of youth is the time when both boys and girls assume adult work roles. They are not viewed as adults, however, and do their work under the supervision of their parents. The sexual differentials in this stage are very sharp, and boys have much more personal freedom than girls. This period of youth is generally longer for boys than girls, since the latter marry earlier. Young men, however, may not hold public office or be entrusted with positions of responsibility in the barrio.

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121 554 565 tive modes of life and cultural expressions corresponding to them, that draws class apart from class, gives cohesion to each class and stratifies a whole society." Cf. Robert M. MacIver and Charles H. Page, *Society* (New York: Rinehart and Co., Inc., 1949), p. 349. It will become apparent to the reader that Tepoztlán has no classes in the above sense. However, in terms of the Warner approach, many classes and subclasses might be found in Tepoztlán.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

to dress in the white *calzones* and huaraches like most Tepoztecans, may be called "un indio platudo," a wealthy Indian, or literally "a silvered Indian." Thus, the residents of Gabriel Mariaca are often described as "esos inditos tienen harta lana, son platudos."

The term *negro* or *negra* is sometimes used as a term of abuse. An irate husband may call his wife *negra* or *cambuca* if she is a shade darker than he. But similarly, he may call her *gringa*, if she is somewhat lighter; both terms are intended as insults.

Many of the sons and daughters of the old *cacique* families seem to be lighter than the rest of the population, suggesting that the *caciques* of the Díaz epoch may have had a stronger admixture of Spanish blood than did the rest of the population. However, groupings do not run along racial lines. About an equal sprinkling of light-skinned people is found among the rich and poor, the *cultos*, the *ignorantes*, etc.

WEALTH

The concepts of rich and poor are frequently used designations of social status in Tepoztlán. But the terms are used in a relative way, are not easily defined, and are applied, as a rule, to individuals rather than to groups. All Tepoztecans tend to characterize themselves as poor, and there is no ostentatious display of wealth on the part of the rich. Concealing wealth is a deep-seated trait, done to avoid envy, claims of friends, taxes, and contributions to the church and public affairs. This attitude tends to limit the function of wealth as a factor for social differentiation. And, by and large, the rich in Tepoztlán are not easily distinguishable from the poor.

Both rich and poor work the land dressed in the same white *calzones* and huaraches; both rich and poor hire day laborers when necessary; and men who own property, as well as those who do not, hire themselves out as laborers when cash is needed. Many of the present-day rich families were once poor, and they cling to the habits of hard work and frugality with which they improved their economic status. However, in varying degrees the rich have a higher standard of living than the poor and can be said to eat better, dress better, and live in more comfortable and better equipped homes. But a man's wealth is not judged by the way in which he lives; rather it is estimated in the amount of land, cattle, plow-oxen, and money he has.

In general there is no sharp social distance between the rich and poor, although there is much sensitivity and awareness of differences in economic status. People in Tepoztlán prefer the company of their equals or inferiors, rather than those who are in a superior economic status. But although a rich man may explain the poverty of a neighbor in terms of his being backward and ignorant, he will treat him with due respect.

LAND-OWNERSHIP

The expression, "He has many lands" (land parcels) is the simplest way the Tepoztecan has of designating wealth and high social status. Conversely, when one

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

says, "He has no land" it is the equivalent of stating that a man is poor. But the contrast between landless and landholders from a purely economic point of view is not sharp, because most landholders have tiny holdings and do not live any better than many who are landless.[4] Yet, even the ownership of a small parcel adds to a man's social standing because of the positive value associated with land-ownership. The acquisition of even a small parcel of land gives the Tepoztecan a feeling of well being and security. It should be noted that the landholders and the landless do not constitute distinct social classes, and there is no conflict of ideologies between them.

Within the category of landholders a distinction is made between (1) *propietarios*, those who own private land; (2) *ejidatarios*, those who hold *ejido* parcels; and (3) *tlacololeros*, those who work communal lands. The economic aspects of these three distinct tenurial types will be treated later.[5] Here it should be noted that, in a sense, each represents a distinct status group, with the greatest prestige attached to *propietarios* and the least to the *tlacololeros*. In addition, each group has different and sometimes conflicting interests, and as such is developing distinctive group consciousness.

The *tlacololeros*, for example, organized themselves during the thirties and have taken the leadership in defending the communal lands in boundary disputes with other municipios, because these are the lands upon which they depend. The *tlacololeros* as a group have been opposed to the nationalization of the communal lands of the municipio and the creation of a municipal *ejido*. They view the transfer of *tlacolol* land to *ejidatarios* as a threat to their interests. Thus, the *tlacololeros* are the staunchest defenders of the ancient Indian system of communal land-ownership.

The *ejidatarios*, on the other hand, do not share the collectivist tendencies of the *tlacololeros*. On the contrary, they seem motivated by a strong sense of individualism and would like to become private owners of the *ejido* parcels assigned them. The *ejidatarios* are perhaps the most politically conscious group in the village, for their welfare depends in large measure on political considerations, and particularly on maintaining cordial relations with the *ejido* commissioner.

LABOR RELATIONS

Most landowners in Tepoztlán have occasion to be both employers and employees during the year. As employers they hire *peones* to help with the planting and harvesting, and as employees they hire themselves out to other landowners or artisans when work on their own land is over. This double role is a common one and blurs whatever class lines there are in Tepoztlán. Even those who are *peones* the whole year round hope some day to be landowners and employers. Also, employees are frequently relatives, *compadres*, or friends with whom there is a reciprocal arrangement of aid or labor exchange. There are no men who employ many workers on a large scale; three or four *peones* who are hired for short periods

[4] The contrast between landholder and landless was much sharper before the Revolution.
[5] See Chapter 6, "Land Tenure," p. 113.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

during the busiest parts of the agricultural cycle are considered a good number. The relations between employer and employee are generally characterized by a spirit of mutual cooperation as well as by a recognition of equality of status. The employer usually works side by side with his workers, addressing them in *tú* if they are his own age and in *Vd.* if they are older. In most cases a *peón* works for another only if he receives good treatment, and frequently feels that by working he is conferring a favor upon the employer. It is common for a laborer to quit a job if the employer is too imperious, demanding, or vigilant. Even in Cuernavaca, Tepoztecan workers have a reputation of being "too independent" and sensitive to slights.

There are few full-time domestic servants in Tepoztlán. Women may be hired to assist in households during fiestas, at the birth of a child, or when the mother is seriously ill. Several well-to-do families hire a laundress regularly. The absence of a servant class is in striking contrast with European rural villages and is evidence of the essential classlessness of Tepoztecan society. When domestic help is needed, it is common to call upon relatives and friends. There is a reluctance to hire maid-servants because it reduces the privacy of the home. When it is unavoidable, servants are sought from among the other villages of the municipio rather than within Tepoztlán itself. Conversely, women consider it humiliating to be servants. Orphans or the daughters of the very poorest families seek such employment, and they prefer to work in Cuernavaca or Mexico City rather than in their own village.

EDUCATION

Less than twenty years ago the distinction between the *cultos* (educated) and the *ignorantes* (ignorant) was based on the ability to read and write. With the spread of education this no longer holds. The graduates of the local school and even of the secondary schools are no longer considered *cultos*. The status of *culto* is now applied primarily to lawyers, doctors, and dentists, who live in the city, and to a few local residents who dress in city clothes, write a good letter, run a typewriter, use big or unusual words, and are intelligent and well informed. A *culto* does not necessarily have to be citified or schooled in modern ways, for one of the best known *cultos* is an old candlemaker famous for his study of Náhuatl and for his skill in speaking that ancient language. *Cultos* generally receive respect and admiration, although they are not above criticism if they have undesirable personality traits. For example, one of Redfield's principal informants was described by many of my informants as a man who was *culto* but who was also *chiflado* (lightheaded).

POLITICS

The *políticos* are the local leaders who are active in politics, and as such have a special status in the village. They have many "friends" and *compadres*, and have influence with local and state officials. They generally know how to talk well, and often act as representatives for the more retiring and humble villagers in their dealings with state or federal agencies.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

of the remaining ten consists of comb, shears, and scissors, and the barber usually performs in his yard under a *ciruela* tree. Barbering is still an occasional occupation. Even in the center shops there are no fixed hours, and they are normally open only on Sundays and Wednesdays.

Of the fourteen corn merchants in the village, four buy corn on a large scale; the

Fig. 18. Meat display in the market.

others buy up small quantities which they take to Cuernavaca twice a week. Two factors have been responsible for the increase in corn merchants. Most important was the expansion of the land base by the *ejido* grants and the privilege of using the communal *ilacolol* lands. Twenty years ago there was a greater relative number of landless *peones* than today, and the village had to import large quantities of corn for its own consumption. Today the village sells about 1,000 *cargas* of corn out of a total production of about 14,000 *cargas*.[1] The new needs of the people, the higher standard of living, and the sharp rise in prices in the last few years, demand a larger amount of ready cash than formerly and force many families to sell their corn.

Referring again to Table 19, we see that there has also been an increase in the number of *curanderos, chirimiteros,* and fireworks makers. These are the specialists which Redfield characterized as the *tontos* in contrast to the *correctos,* who were the storekeepers, merchants, etc. Today no such distinction exists in the village.

[1] One *carga* is about 213 pounds.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

In 1938 a group of Tepoztecans organized themselves to fight for the privilege of working the communal lands. A delegation of 200 men went to the local authorities in Cuernavaca and explained that they had no other way of earning a living. They stated that they would open *tlacolol* even if it meant violence and arrest. Following this demonstration the *tlacololeros* were allowed to work without government interference, and the number of *tlacololeros* increased.

The fact that *tlacolol* land is now available to Tepoztecans is of paramount importance in the life of the community and has served two purposes. First, it has been a source of land for the landless. Together with the *ejido* land recovered from the Hacienda of Oacalco, it has reduced the number of peons and has broadened the agricultural base of the society. It has thereby reduced the sharp social and economic class distinctions which existed in the village before the Revolution.

NUMBER OF *Tlacololeros*

In 1944 there were 189 families, or 20.9 per cent of all the families in the village, in which one or more members worked *tlacolol* land. The distribution of these families by barrio and the extent to which the same families also carried on plow culture is shown in Table 34.

TABLE 34. Distribution of *Tlacololeros* by Barrio, 1944.

Barrio	No. of Families	No. of *Tlacololeros*	No. Who Have *Tlacolol* Only	No. Who Own Private Land Only	No. Who Hold *Ejido* Only	No. Who Hold *Ejido* and Own Private Land
San Miguel	214	45	23	10	8	4
La Santísima	185	34	24	4	5	1
Santo Domingo	223	26	10	5	6	5
Santa Cruz (large)	82	42	14	15	5	8
Los Reyes	49	12	9	1	1	1
San Sebastián	42	21	10	2	8	1
Santa Cruz (small)	36	2	1	1	0	0
San Pedro	22	7	5	1	1	0
Tepoztlán	853	189	96	39	34	20

It should be noted that while over fifty per cent of the *tlacololeros* are in the three larger barrios of San Miguel, La Santísima, and Santo Domingo, they constitute only a very small percentage of the total number of families in these barrios. On the other hand, in the smaller barrios the *tlacololeros* constitute a much larger percentage. Thus, in San Sebastián approximately fifty per cent of the families are *tlacololeros*. This concentration of the *tlacololeros* in the smaller barrios tends to set these barrios off as the poorest and most backward in the village.

It will also be seen from Table 34 that 96 families, or 50.7 per cent of all *tlacololeros*, depended solely upon *tlacolol;* that is, they had no private land or *ejido;* 39 *tlacololeros* owned private parcels; 34 held *ejidos;* and 20 had both private

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

husbands and wives, a young wife often addressed her older husband in *Vd.*, while he used *tú* to her.

The *Vd.-tú* relationship may also exist between employer and employee, particularly if the latter is younger and is well known to the employer. However, if an employer addresses an older employee in the familiar form, it is a sign of lack of respect and is taken to be an insult. When both persons are of the same age and are not strangers, they address each other in the familiar form.

In pre-Revolutionary days it was customary for wealthy *caciques* to address the rest of the population as *tú*, regardless of age, and to be addressed as *Vd.* Today, wealth plays a minimal role in the *Vd.-tú* relationship, in part because of the absence of sharp class differences, in part because of the humble origins of many of the present well-to-do. The memory of the deep hostility and fierce vengeance of the subordinate population toward the *caciques* is also a deterrent in taking advantage of higher economic status.

Men holding political office or political ambitions are generally careful to avoid the *Vd.-tú* relationship with other adults for fear of offending. They prefer the *Vd.-Vd.* relationship, for they seek many *compadres*, or the *tú-tú* relationship in which they acknowledge friendship or acquaintance with most people of their own age group. However, local officials tend to speak condescendingly in the *Vd.-tú* relationship to more humble Tepoztecans, as well as to people from outlying villages, regardless of their age. This attitude of arrogance on the part of the officials and respect for the authorities on the part of the general population is carried over from pre-Revolutionary days, as is the notion that to speak to the local president in the familiar *tú* adds to an individual's importance. However, within Tepoztlán proper, officials no longer dare to express superiority of status to the majority of the adult inhabitants. Only the priest and nuns maintain an *Vd.-tú* relationship with the rest of the population.

The *tú-tú* relationship is an intimate one and is used between husband and wife, sweethearts, and children. It is also used between two people of the same sex and of approximately the same age. However, in Tepoztlán this *tú-tú* relationship does not always imply intimacy, but rather the possibility of intimacy. Thus, it is from the same age group that the *cuates*, drinking companions, singing companions, and so on, are drawn; but for the rest, the *tú-tú* relationship may be almost as reserved and formal as *Vd.-Vd.* In this, Tepoztlán and other rural villages differ from the city where the use of *tú-tú* is reserved for only the most intimate friends, all others of the same age being addressed as *Vd.*

At least among the school children and older students there is a tendency toward urban usage of *tú* and *Vd.*, that is, the custom of having fewer but more intimate *tú* relationships and a greater number of *Vd.* relationships. Traditionally in Tepoztlán, although members of the same sex and age group continue to call each other *tú*, there is a marked withdrawal from intimate relations as they get older and particularly after marriage. The *tú-tú* relationship is undoubtedly a potentially dangerous one to continue, because of the equality of status and the possibility of

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

suffering, and maladjustment. We are told little of poverty, economic problems, or political schisms. Throughout his study we find an emphasis upon the cooperative and unifying factors in Tepoztecan society. Our findings, on the other hand, would emphasize the underlying individualism of Tepoztecan institutions and character, the lack of cooperation, the tensions between villages within the municipio, the schisms within the village, and the pervading quality of fear, envy, and distrust in inter-personal relations.

Now let us consider some of these differences in more detail. Redfield's account of Tepoztlán stresses the role of the communal lands as a unifying factor within the village and the municipio. While this is certainly true it is only part of the story. With the single exception of church lands, communal lands were and are individually operated, and the ideal of every Tepoztecan is to own his private plot of land. Furthermore, the communal lands have been a source of inter-village quarrels, and during the year that Redfield was in Tepoztlán these quarrels resulted in violence. Similarly, Redfield gives the impression that the *cuatequitl*, a traditional form of collective labor, was part and parcel of village life. He described a *cuatequitl* which occurred during his stay as if it were a common and regular occurrence. As a matter of fact, it was the first village *cuatequitl* of importance since the Revolution, and there have been very few subsequent ones. The particular *cuatequitl* which Redfield observed was due to the curious circumstance whereby a local, socialistically oriented political faction, directed from Mexico City by a group of Tepoztecans who were members of the Confederación Regional de Obreros Mexicanos, locally known as the Bolsheviki, revived the traditional *cuatequitl*. Before the Revolution, the village *cuatequitl* was not viewed simply as a voluntary, cooperative endeavor but was also associated with forced labor and imposition by the local *cacique* groups which ruled the village during the Díaz regime. In the colonial period the Spaniards similarly utilized the traditional *cuatequitl* as a source of labor. In short, Redfield's account of the cooperative aspects of village life needs to be modified somewhat in the light of other data.

Redfield portrayed Tepoztlán as a community of landowners and did not mention a land problem. But we found that over fifty per cent of the villagers did not own private land, and that there was an acute shortage of good land and considerable population pressure in the face of dwindling agricultural resources. Redfield gave a rather glowing picture of Tepoztlán during the Díaz regime as having reached a period of great cultural florescence, but he failed to point out that this was limited to only a few Tepoztecans, and that the vast majority of Tepoztecans were illiterate, desperately poor, landless, and living under an oppressive political regime which forbade them to utilize their own communal resources. In this connection it is interesting to note that Tepoztlán was one of the first villages in the state of Morelos to join the Zapatista revolt against the Díaz regime. Redfield apparently viewed the Mexican Revolution as having had the effect of halting the tendency for

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

the merging of social class differences,[4] but we found that the Revolution had a marked leveling influence, economically, socially, and culturally.

Redfield presented only the positive and formal aspects of inter-personal relations, such as forms of greeting and the respect-relations of *compadres;* he failed to deal with some of the negative and disruptive aspects of village life, such as the fairly high incidence of stealing, quarrels, and physical violence. An examination of the local records revealed that in the year that Redfield lived in the village there were 175 reported cases of crimes and misdemeanors in the local court. Most of these cases were offenses against persons and property. Since not all cases reach the local authorities, this number is indicative of considerable conflict.

Redfield described local politics as a game, but we found that politics was a very serious affair which frequently led to violence. The year Redfield was there, the political schisms culminated in open violence bordering on civil war, and it was this situation which finally resulted in Redfield's leaving the village.

Another important difference between our findings concerns Redfield's delineation of the social structure of the village in terms of what he called the *tontos,* or representatives of folk culture, and the *correctos,* or representatives of city ways. It should be pointed out that Tepoztecans do not conceive of these terms as designations of social classes, in the sense used by Redfield, nor did they twenty years ago. Tepoztecans use the words as descriptive adjectives, with *tonto* meaning stupid, backward, foolish, or ignorant, and with *correcto* meaning well-mannered, well-bred, proper, or correct. The poorest, least educated, and most conservative man may be *correcto* to a Tepoztecan if he is polite and behaves in the accepted manner. Similarly, a well-educated, acculturated man may be called *tonto* if he permits himself to be fooled by others or dominated by his wife. Within any one family, some of the members may be considered *tonto* and others *correcto,* depending almost entirely upon personality traits and manners.

But granting that the degree of exposure to and influence of city ways is an important criterion in making for status differences in Tepoztlán, it is by no means the only one, and certainly not the most significant one in terms of the actual operation of the many status distinctions in the village. Among status distinctions which were then, and are today, more meaningful to Tepoztecans are those of rich and poor, landowners and landless, owners of private lands and holders of *ejidos, ejidatarios* and *comuneros,* farmers in hoe culture and farmers in plow culture, sons of *caciques* and sons of ex-Zapatistas, to mention but a few.

Furthermore, the concept of *tontos* and *correctos,* as social classes representing different cultural levels, led to misunderstanding of the local political situation. The opposing political factions in the village during Redfield's stay were not composed of *tontos* on the one side and *correctos* on the other. The leaders on both sides included highly acculturated and little acculturated individuals, as did the members

[4] In discussing the *tontos* and *correctos,* he writes, "The periodic Revolutions afford, it would seem, a mechanism whereby the difference between the classes is from time to time re-emphasized and the tendency for them to merge is checked." Redfield, *Tepoztlán,* p. 205.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

at large. A study of the personnel of each of the local government administrations (*ayuntamientos*) from 1926 to 1947 gives no support to Redfield's statement that politics, like the religious fiestas, are in the hands of the *tontos*.

The use of the terms *"tonto"* and *"correcto"* to designate social groups, which did not and do not exist and operate as such, makes much of Redfield's analysis of Tepoztecan society oversimplified, schematic, and unreal. We found a much wider range of custom and belief among the so-called *"tontos"* than was reported by Redfield, and by the same token there was less of a gap between the *tontos* and *correctos*. While Redfield's concept would tend to make for two cultures, we see Tepoztlán as a single culture, with more and less acculturated individuals in close and frequent contact, each influencing the other, as they have for the past four hundred years.

IMPLICATIONS OF OUR DIFFERENCES

More important than the differences in our findings is the question of how to explain these differences. I suppose that in a sense it is inevitable that different students studying the same society will arrive at different conclusions. Certainly the personal factor, and what Redfield has recently referred to as the element of art in social science, cannot be overlooked.[5] Nevertheless the differences in our findings on Tepoztlán are of such magnitude as to demand some further and more detailed explanation.

Some of the differences in our data can be explained by changes which have occurred in the village in the interim of nearly twenty years between our studies. These changes have already been outlined in an earlier publication[6] and are discussed throughout this book. Other differences result from the difference in the general scope of the two studies. This study had the advantage of having Redfield's pioneer work to start with, the assistance of Mexican personnel, more than twice the amount of time for field work, and the development, during the past twenty years, of new approaches and methods, especially in the field of culture and personality. The much greater emphasis upon economic analysis in this study also reflects a fairly recent trend in anthropology. In addition, the fact that this study was based on the testimony of well over one hundred informants, as compared to about a half-dozen used by Redfield, revealed a wide range of individual differences and enabled more thorough checking of data.

Still other differences, such as those summarized in the preceding pages, must be attributed for the most part to differences in theoretical orientation and methodology which in turn influenced the selection and coverage of facts and the way in which these facts were organized. In rereading Redfield's study in the light of my

[5] Some sociologists like Mannheim would go even farther. He writes, "It could be shown in all cases that not only do fundamental orientations, evaluations, and the content of ideas differ, but that the manner of stating a problem, the sort of approach made, and even the categories in which experiences are subsumed, collected and ordered, vary according to the social position of the observer." Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia* (London: Kegan Paul, 1936), p. 13.

[6] See Lewis, "Social and Economic Changes in a Mexican Village," *América Indígena*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (October, 1944).

3: Lewis E-5 (1943-1957) 1960
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

the forest resources sharply reduced charcoal production in the village and many families have thereby lost a traditional source of income. Some found work as agricultural laborers on the two or three gladiola farms that have been established in Tepoztlán; others have been employed by the nearby Y.M.C.A. Many more found work in Cuernavaca or as day laborers on road construction.

The changes in the occupational structure of the village have accentuated earlier trends. The number of nonagricultural occupations increased from 26 in 1944 to 33 in 1956 and the number of people engaged in these occupations rose from 273 to 565. This increase has been accompanied by greater specialization and a decline in the role of agriculture in the total economy. In 1944, approximately 70 percent of those engaged in nonagricultural occupations also farmed; in 1956, the comparable figure was only 25 percent! Today there is a much greater participation of women in the nonagricultural occupations than formerly. Women still predominate as teachers, *curanderos,* and corn merchants, but they now are also full-time tortilla makers, dressmakers, and hairdressers. Other new occupations in the village are those of tailor, *ciruela* merchant, and milk merchant. The increase in the number of teachers has been striking—from 21 in 1944 to 101 in 1956, an indication of the growth of a middle class in the village. Whereas formerly there was a shortage of teachers in the village, there is now a shortage of teaching jobs, and 70 Tepoztecans teach in rural schools outside of the village. Other occupations that have shown a large increase in numbers are: bus line employees, from 22 to 35; barbers, from 15 to 22; butchers, from 15 to 32; and storekeepers, from 20 to 64.

The distribution of people engaged in nonagricultural occupations by barrio shows an intensification of the older pattern of concentration in the larger central barrios: La Santísima, 27 percent; Santo Domingo, 25 percent; San Miguel, 23 percent; Santa Cruz, 11 percent; San Sebastian, 8 percent; Los Reyes, 5 percent; and San Pedro, 1 percent. Similarly, 85 percent of those engaged in the new occupations come from the three central barrios. The trend toward barrio differentiation of occupations, however, has been offset by a spread of services from the central plaza to the barrios. Each barrio now has its own corn mill and at least one store. Another interesting and symptomatic change has been the rise in the number of money lenders—from about 6 in 1944 to 18 in 1956. This reflects a much greater need for cash as well as an influx of wealth.

The only occupations that have shown a decline in the number of members since 1944 are those of carpenter, *curandero, chirimitero* (flute player), maguey fiber collector, and charcoal maker. The *huehuechiques* (ceremonial barrio officers) have completely disappeared, as I predicted in my earlier study. The *chirimiteros* are being replaced by modern secular musicians. As noted earlier, the decline in charcoal making was forced on the village by the federal authorities.

The most dramatic occupational change and one which has become a major new source of income to the village is the *bracero* movement. In 1948,

3:Lewis E-5 (1943-1957) 1960
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

in attitudes and values and in the quality of interpersonal relations. It is too early to tell how deeply these changes have affected the ethos and character of the villagers, but all signs point in the direction of more profound changes to follow. In 1956, Tepoztecans seemed on the whole more outgoing and friendly and less bothered by the presence of outsiders. Children were noisier and smiled more; they were as apt to run toward as away from a stranger. Indeed, they begged tourists for centavos. Small groups of unchaperoned adolescent girls laughing and talking together were not unusual sights, and occasionally a village girl might be seen walking side by side with a boy in broad daylight. In general, the villagers were more accepting of their sophisticated members and provincialism seemed to be on the wane. There was more competition for jobs and scholarships and in general display.

That Tepoztecans have more drive and ambition for self-improvement is obvious. The young people are restless and have found the courage to leave the village to look for better opportunities. They are making greater demands on their parents for education, and they have more confidence in and more ability to cooperate with people outside the family over longer periods of time. Friendship not based on formal reciprocal relationships has become increasingly important; *compadrazgo* has assumed a new significance in providing connections and social advantages. Material success and a higher standard of living are consciously admired and worked for and the motivation to hide wealth is weaker. Respect has come to be based more and more on wealth and social status. Education imparts higher status; a young man or woman who has a teacher's certificate expects to be treated more respectfully by his or her elders. The middle class, especially, feel that status is also gained by discarding folk beliefs and practices and becoming more Catholic.

It is apparent, then, that Tepoztlán has made great strides ahead in the past fifteen years. The changes have been uneven, however, and not all the sectors of the population have equally benefited. Faced with limited agricultural resources, low yields, an absence of irrigation, and little prospect of solving their agricultural problems through mechanization, the villagers have by-passed their agrarian problem and have instead become dependent on new occupations and on jobs outside the village.

Most of the changes in the village are enjoyed by the middle economic group which even in 1943 had shown the most initiative and interest in raising its level of living. This group has doubled in size and now constitutes about 25 percent of the total population. Moreover, it is no longer merely an economic group; it is emerging rather as a true middle class, consisting of professionals, white-collar employees, and self-employed artisans and shopkeepers whose values and goals have come to differ substantially from those of the peasantry. The sharpening cleavage between the middle and lower economic groups, between peasant and nonpeasant, is perhaps the most far-reaching and significant change in the village.

Although the lower economic group is proportionately smaller than it was in 1943, it still constitutes the great majority of the villagers—approximately 65 percent. Our data suggest that this group has become even poorer, both because of inflation and because its members have been deprived of a tradi-

3:Lewis E-5 (1943-1957) 1960
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

tional source of income by the prohibiting of charcoal production. Members of the lower segments of this group have gained least from the processes set in motion by the Mexican Revolution. They have been unable or unwilling to leave the village for jobs in the cities or to work as *braceros*. They have taken least advantage of the greater educational opportunities. They continue to farm for subsistence and cling to the old ways of life largely because these are cheaper.

As Tepoztlán moves further into the modern world, it is leaving behind its Indian language, many of its Indian customs, its local autonomy and the collective forms of pre-Hispanic times. Even the communal lands—the bulwark of the traditional order and formerly one of the most important bases for the corporate life of the community—seem destined to be divided up into *ejido* plots, and perhaps later into private holdings. With improved means of communication, greater faith in technology, greater dependence on a money economy and outside jobs, increasing occupational specialization, and a desire for a higher level of living, a change has come about also in the character of the people. As we have seen, Tepoztecans are now less suspicious, less withdrawn, and more concerned with personal development.

Tepoztlán today poses many questions which can be answered only with time. Will the growing individualism bring greater anxiety and frustration? Will it bring greater participation and trust in government? Will the traditional patterns of village life be able successfully to incorporate and reinterpret the present new elements—as has often been done with new elements in the past—or will the old and stable village culture soon be unrecognizable? Will Tepoztecans continue to sell their ancient lands and thereby convert Tepoztlán into a miniature Cuernavaca? Will the recent arrival of electricity be followed by the establishment of factories and the growth of a landless proletariat? Or will the village culture absorb the industrialism that seems to be on its way as some other villages have done?

Changes in village culture are exemplified in changing styles.

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